000 sacks they laid the victim of the accident. In this manner they brought the Dragshos to his house in Kalatse.

Chosskyid felt as if lightning had struck her when they placed before her feet in the house the immobile body of her husband; her husband, the distinguished-looking, strong man of whom she was so proud, the good man whom she loved so much. At first the woman was stunned and close to fainting. Then her grief vented itself in a scream and in loud crying, finally she controlled herself and just cried quietly to herself as she laid her beloved man down on his bed. She knew that her husband had not liked the wailing of lamentation. And after all he was still alive. Perhaps he would not yet leave her. They sent for the lharje (doctor), who was not to be found; they sent for the missionary, but he too had ridden off in order to look after the sick people in Tingmogang. So they left the Dragshos lying, and Chosskyid washed his great, gaping head wound, while old Stobsldan sat down next to the mortally injured nephew and ceaselessly turned the prayer wheel. The children, Namgyal's parents, the grandmother Tsering Putrid as well as other relatives stood around the bed all crying loudly.

Hours later he once more regained conciousness. Namgyal recognized his wife and the children. In a low voice /204/ he told them what had happened and consoled his crying wife who was kneeling with the youngest child at her breast, beside the death-bed of her husband. He wanted to raise his hand in order to stroke the child's head; it was impossible; both arms, as well as his legs, were broken. The dull eyes of the dying man rested for a few moments with an expression of tender love upon the wife and the children; the Namgyal asked: "Where is the Sahib? Call the Sahib!" They had to tell him that the missionary was gone and that he could not be back before the evening. Then the old Tsering Putrid pressed forward to the bed and said: "Namgyal! Have the lamas called! Now you need the lamas so that they can pray and perform skurim!" "No," said Namgyal, "I do not need the lamas. Give my regards to the missionary and tell him that I am taking my refuge with Yeshu!" Another glance of the breaking eyes at wife and children, then the eyes closed, his breathing ceased, and Drogpa Namgyal's soul had fled from his body.

763 Deeply shaken, Chosskyid stood by the death bed of her husband. Her mourning was real, but she had learned to control her feelings; she bore her grief courageously. With all the greater abandonment did Tsering Putrid give herself over to grieving. She howled, lamented, tore her hair, was vociferous in her complaints against the missionary

who, she said, was the fault of everything by having turned her grand- 763
son away from the faith of Buddha and having made him into a Kristan. For this reason they were all now struck by the anger of the Buddhas and the gods. The women of the tribe joined in the howling of lamentation. This was required by custom. Entire Kalatse and the neighboring villages mourned over the Dragshos who had been leader and adviser to them, such as they had not had before among their people.

Towards evening a high lama came into the house. He had 764
been called by Tsering Putrid to perform the first death ceremonies, so that her grandson would be accorded a proper Buddhistic burial; and so that the lamas would set right again what her grandson, misled by the Sahib (missionary), had "sinned" against the Buddhas and the sacred doctrine. The lama set about his work. He sat down by the side of the deathbed, on which the dead man was lying stretched out and covered with a white cloth. Then he proceeded to read passages /Following p. 204 there is one full-page illustration with the subtitle: "Interment. The corpse has been placed inside the 'coffin' in a crouching position."/ /205/ from the book t'os-grol, which are to show the soul the way into the Paradise of the West. Then the lama commanded the soul to leave the body and to release itself from all earthly matters, property, family, friendship, and so forth. He seized a small bush of hair on the dead man's skull and pulled it out, so that the soul would be able to escape through the resulting "opening," that is the openings which are thought to be created in the top of the skull by means of this proceeding. Then the lama gave the soul further instructions as to how it could escape the dangers with which it would be threatened in Bardo--the space between earth and paradise--on the part of the innumerable demons. The lama wished the soul bon voyage into the Beyond. That is the "Changing of the Body" (Tibetan, ap'o-ba adebs-pa).

When the lama had left the house a few p'as-pun arrived, washed away the traces of blood from the face and hands of the corpse, and placed it upright in a corner of the living room-kitchen, near the place which the dead man had always occupied at meals. Tsering Putrid also had the old devil-tamer called in again, whom the dead man had long ago dismissed. The devil-tamer was requested to set up the death horoscope and to ascertain the type, time, and form of the interment, as well as the astrologically suitable members of the tribe who alone may touch the corpse and carry out the burial.

Late in the evening the missionary came to the house--he was

764 children that young do not know as yet the difference between good and evil; therefore there is also no need for these ceremonies. If we people of Ladakh (so say these people) had to observe these rites even among those younger than the eight-year-olds, then the burden (the expenses) would become so heavy that we would be unable to bear it. Therefore we do not perform any rites.

First Considerations and Practices

In case a person suddenly dies and the flour, butter, beer, and so forth, (necessary for the mass of the dead) are not present in the house, the death is kept a secret for three to four days, until these things have been procured. Then, when everything is prepared, a lama, /212/ who has performed the "Four Exercises" (2) (t'un bźi-po t'on-mk'an-gyi bla-ma), goes to call one of the p'as-pun. Those who already have everything in preparedness send a messenger immediately after the death (of the relative) out to the lama who takes care of the "changing of the body" (ap'o-ba adebs-m'kan).

2. These "Exercises of the four times of the day (tun)" are performed in each case at daybreak (t'o-raṅs sha t'un), towards noon (nyin-p'yed dus guṅ t'un), towards six o'clock in the evening (p'yi-tog srod t'un), and towards midnight (t'san p'yed shon-du dgoṅs). With these four segments of time the lama concerned must recite the formula of refuge 100,000 times, other formulas of adoration 100,000 times, 100,000 Mandala (dkyil-ak'or), 100,000 yig-brgya, and other formulas. In order to get through all these Exercises, (a lama) needs about five months. The whole thing represents a testing of the lama.

Marks of the Virtuous and of the Sinner on the Dead Person

763 775 If the upper part of the dead person's body becomes cold while the lower part of his body is still warm, then the deceased was a virtuous person in his lifetime. But if the upper part of his body is still warm while the lower part becomes cold, then this is taken as a sign that the person was a sinner. Why? The soul of the virtuous person escapes through an opening on top of the head in the fontanel, and

the body then cools off gradually from the top down to the feet; in the case of great sinners, the soul escapes from the lower part of the body through the rectum, and the body gradually cools off from down below up to the head, so it is said. 763 775

Behavior of the Deceased

It is said that for four days the dead person does not know that he has died. The latter (during this time) keeps returning to his house, sits down in the circle (of the members of his household), and also speaks to them, but the latter do not answer him. But when he notices that his body does not cast a shadow any more and that (in walking) he leaves no footprints behind, only then does he know: I have died. It is also said that the dead person always resembles the animal of his birth year, for instance, the corpse of a pig year person is supposed to look like a dead pig (in his features). 775

When somebody has died, his understanding (his faculties) become nine times as acute as before. For a good lama it is an easy thing to effect that creatures in Bardo (3) (through his magical arts), 775 789

3. Bardo is the realm of the dead in which the deceased arrive first and where they stay for forty days until they are reborn in a new body. In the same place they are also tortured and frightened by horrible demons, if the power of their own virtuous accomplishments, or the prayers, masses, and offerings of the priests do not release them from it. --Compare Evans-Wenk: Tibetanisches Totenbuch, Zürich, 1937.

become so light that they become like beams (floating on the water) (4), so it says in the books, particularly in the "T'os-agrol." Until

4. The force of gravity is eliminated. A renowned magical trick of the lamas.

the funeral ceremonies are ended, the deceased person daily receives his favorite dishes.

/213/ Many Sects--Many Methods

Now, since there are five Buddhistic sects in Ladakh, namely, 000

783 In earlier times it used to be so, that, if a husband (or wife) died after the summer solstice, the surviving party had to be regarded as impure until the winter solstice. Nowadays the parties concerned need no longer remain separated from the other survivors for longer than a month. As soon as the month has elapsed, a lama brings the purification offering. Then each of the relatives and members of the tribe prepare a delectable meal and bring it together with beer (into the house of mourning). This is called the "meal of mourning" (sdug-bzan). With this the mourning is concluded (sdug-sdug-bsaṅs) (8).

3. This can also be translated: "The purification is completed."

The woman again washes (and braids) her hair, /215/ changes her clothes, the ornaments are again put on, they eat and drink and give themselves over to uninhibited gaiety.

The "Changing of the Body"

763 In the book t'os-agrol (9) it says that at the approaching death

9. The full title of the book is: t'os-pa t'sam-gyis agrol-ba t'ob-pai ĉos, the doctrine by the hearing of which a person is immediately saved.

(of a person) a lama of high rank must be present between the external breathing out and the (final) inner breathing out of the soul, in order to read the book t'os-agrol and to introduce the "changing of the body" (of existence, ap'o-ba adebs-pa). However, in most cases it is so, that when the dying person still feels healthy shortly before his death, he himself and the entire family hope for his recovery, yes, none of them even thinks of his dying. Finally, the relatives frequently do not think of calling in the lamas even in case of great danger of death. The custom of calling the lamas before the death exists neither in Ngari nor in Central Tibet (but it does exist in Western Tibet).

764 As soon, then, as death has actually set in and everything in the house is prepared, a p'as-pun is sent out in order to call a lama who has performed the "Four Exercises" and who has attained the rank of an abbot. The abbot sits down by the deceased and waits. It is not a general custom to serve the dead person any food aside from tea on this occasion. But some people do serve the dead person his favorite

11: Singh)-5 (1932) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

A local doctor (*Amchi*) was called in to attend the sick man, who was given certain purgatives which were vomited as soon as they were administered. The duration of the deceased's illness was only one day.

Having heard that the body was to be disposed of by mutilation, my curiosity was aroused, and I determined to witness the ceremony first-hand. To achieve this end I was obliged to simulate great interest in the local religion, and professed myself an ardent Buddhist. To my surprise I received consent to follow the funeral cortège, and to be present at the actual ceremony of mutilation.

The place where the mutilation ceremony was performed was on a small hillock by the side of the Spiti river, about a mile and a half from the village. Eight men carried the dead man on an improvised bier made of four rough pieces of wood crossed in such a way as to form a square shaped seat. Immediately after death the deceased's neck was broken by one of his relations. The lower part of his right leg having been flexed at the knee joint and placed over the middle third of the left thigh, so that the calf muscle was clearly in evidence, a yak hair rope was passed in a figure of eight round the leg, thigh, and neck, bringing the head down very close to the knee. The corpse thus trussed was placed on the bier, with two relatives leading the funeral procession. Behind the eight bearers of the corpse came some villagers amongst whom were two men, one carrying a log of wood, and the other an axe and hunting knife.

FIG. 3. CARRYING THE DEAD MAN FOR MUTILATION.

About two furlongs from the village the procession reached a prayer wall. At this point the two men leading the procession returned to their own village bearing flags and a banner with a goddess painted upon it.

On arrival at the site of the mutilation ceremony, the body was taken out of the bier, and the clothes and funeral ornaments stripped from the dead man so as to expose him naked. Two lamas (priests) then took up a position about thirty feet from the corpse, and faced eastwards, whilst another lama squatted on the ground to the south of the site of mutilation. These men held ritualistic instruments in their hands, and muttered prayers.

In the meantime, the executioner on whom the main business of mutilation devolved, placing himself in front of the corpse drew it over to a flat stone just visible above the ground. Then, after cutting the rope which secured the deceased lest he should rise and do some harm, he laid the dead body on the stone with its knees in a flexed position. This done, he placed the log of wood under the cervical region, cutting with his hunting knife the skin, fascia, muscles, and other soft structures of the neck. Then taking the axe from his girdle, he severed the head from the body, and placed it close by. He now proceeded to open up the abdomen. First, he caught the abdominal wall in the epigastric region with his left hand, and with his right he introduced his knife at the tip of the xiphoid and cut the abdominal wall horizontally, and the flap thus made was turned downwards over the pubic region.

On opening the abdomen fæculent fluid gushed out. The small and large intestines were semi-distended and bulging. It being of great importance to ascertain the disease which caused the deceased's death, the mutilator used a small piece of stick to elevate and examine the intestines. His verdict was that the man had died from a fatal bilious attack, though so far as I could see the liver was quite normal.

Standing close to the body I could see that the intestines were distended, and part of the small intestine was chocolate colour (gangrenous). Besides this it had the appearance of having been ruptured and perforated, which fact rather confirms my belief that the extremely violent aperients administered to the man during his brief illness produced these disastrous results.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

595 chief bridegroom, and the marriage-tie is as binding on him as on his elder brother. In lower Ladak, however, where more of the men-folk are away from home trading or travelling, the link is said to be bearable between as many as five brothers. 4r3 4r8 The house and the land and all the children belong to the eldest brother, whether the latter are his begetting or his brothers', and the younger inherits all if the former pre- 601 deceases him. Hence the word for uncle is always *Aba Chungun*, "little father."

● 763 At length must come the time when the Ladaki's "silver cord is loosened," and his "golden bowl broken." He does not, however, believe that his spirit returns to God who gave it, but that it seeks a new habitation in one of the six existences, 764 decided by the deeds done in the life just ended. Immediately the soul has set forth on this quest, the lama is hurriedly fetched to read from the holy books and pronounce various charms. 764 The nearest relative must now break the corpse's neck, thus 614 setting free its spirit, and the body is then rolled up and tied into a ball as far as this is possible. It is then carried by one of the *paspun* into the family temple, or private chapel, of the house. Nobody but a *paspun* is ever allowed to touch the corpse, and if no male one exists, a woman has to perform this duty. A candle is now lit, and food and drink provided for the soul, which would suffer much during its search for a fresh tabernacle were it not alleviated by the sustenance [791] thus prepared. This is done for about one month. An appeal is then made to the *Onpo*, whose researches settle the date and even the time when cremation may be performed. In the meantime mourners attend the house, who join the family and their friends in bewailing the deceased with loud tones, and help them to consume much butter-tea and flour. Every newcomer provokes a fresh outburst of expression of sorrow. The nearest female relation puts on her oldest clothes, and shows her bereavement by looking as dishevelled and dirty as possible.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

766 Two more exceptional methods of the disposal of the corpse remain. If a child dies, a brick is taken out of the living-room wall, its small body placed inside, and thus immured. A lama of high rank is said to be well salted first, and then placed inside a *Chorten*. This, however, has been vigorously denied.

763 To conclude this chapter perhaps we may recount the following amusing story of how the people of Kyelang tried unsuccessfully to cheat the King of Death. An old lady was near dissolution, and, wishing to save her from the dread potentate, her relatives made an effigy of her, taking scrupulous care that this should be her exact size, then dressed it up in her clothes. A proper mourning with much wailing was then instituted, after which the effigy was carried out to the desert for cremation with full ceremonies. A man was then told off to return to the village shouting, "This poor woman has now been dead nine days," for which service he was rewarded with a pair of grass shoes. But, alas! Death saw through the fraud, and took the dame as well.